4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

two others. His eyes were fixed on the ship, and his countenance was like that of an angel, with an aspect and spirit that promised much, of a good colour, not fair but white; his locks like that of a lady who valued them much. He was all that has been said, so that I never in my life felt such pain as when I thought that so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.[1]

The natives came with much speed and fury, rowing their canoes, pointing with their fingers to their port and land, speaking loudly, and often using the words *atalut* and *analut*. They came to our ships, and when they arrived they gave us cocoa-nuts, a kind of food rolled up in leaves, good plantains, and large canes[2] full of water. They looked at the ships, the people, and the women who had come out on the galley to see them, at whom they looked, and laughed at the sight. They got one to put his hand on the ship, and, with coaxing, they got him to come on board. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt and put a hat upon his head, which, when the others saw, they laughed and looked, crying out to the rest. On this about forty came on board, beside whom the Spaniards seemed of small stature. Among them there was one taller than the rest by a head and shoulders, and taller than our best men, though we had one very tall. They began to walk about the ship with great boldness, taking hold of whatever was near them, and many of them tried the arms of the soldiers, touched them in several parts with their fingers, looked at their beards and faces, with other monkey tricks. As they saw that our men were dressed in various colours, they were confused; so the soldiers bared their breasts, let down their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves to satisfy them. When they were shown this, they quieted down, and were much pleased.

[1] Suarez de Figueroa quotes all this word for word, and here says that he is quoting from the papers of the Chief Pilot.

[2] Joints of bamboos in which they carry water.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 The Adelantado and some of the soldiers gave them shirts, hats, and other trifling things, which they presently put round their necks, dancing and singing in their fashion, and loudly called to the others to look at what they had been given. Their conduct annoyed the Adelantado, who made signs to them to go; but they not only would not leave the ship, but became more free in taking things they saw. Some cut slices from our bacon and meat with [412] knives made of cane, and wanted to take other things. At last the Adelantado ordered a gun to be fired, and when they felt and heard it, with great terror, they all jumped into the water and swam to their canoes, only one remaining in the ship. He was clinging on to the main channels, and they could not make him let go, until some one wounded him on the hand with a sword, which was shown to the others, and they took him into a canoe. At this time they fastened a rope to the ship's bowsprit, and, by rowing, tried to tow her on shore, thinking they could thus take her.

When the native was wounded, they all became warlike, and were marshalled by one who carried a parasol of palm leaves. Among them was one old man with a long and well-ordered beard, who cast fierce looks from his eyes, put both hands into his beard, raised his moustaches, stood up, and cried out, looking in many directions. They played on sheils, and striking with their paddles in the canoes they [411] showed their hostility: some taking up the lances which they brought, tied down; others with stones in slings, not having other arms. With good will, they began to hurl stones, and wounded a soldier; but first they had come near the ship, and those with lances threatened to throw them. The soldiers pointed their arquebuses, but, as it had been raining, the powder would not ignite. It was a sight to behold, how the natives came on with noise and shouts; and how some, when they saw weapons pointed at them,

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

jumped from the canoes into the water, or got behind the others. At last, the old man who made the menaces was shot in the forehead, and fell dead, with seven or eight others, while some were wounded. They fled from our ships, and presently three natives came in a canoe, calling out. One held up a green branch, and something white in his hand, which appeared to be a sign of peace. They seemed to be asking us to come to their port; but this was not done, and they departed, leaving some cocoa-nuts.

This island has a circumference of about 10 leagues, so far as we could see. It is clear and open towards the sea, lofty and wooded in the ravines, which is where the natives live. The port is on the south side. It is in latitude 10° S., and a thousand leagues from Lima. It is thickly inhabited; for, besides those who came in the canoes, the beaches and rocks were covered with people. The Adelantado did not know the place, and, being undeceived, he said it was not one of the islands he came in search of, but a new discovery.

CHAPTER V.

How three other islands were sighted, their names, and how they came to a port in that of Santa Cristina.

AT a short distance from this island three other islands were sighted, for which a course was shaped. The first, to which the Adelantado gave the name of San Pedro, was 10 leagues W.N.W. from Magdalena. It was not ascertained whether it was inhabited, because it was not visited. It is about 4 leagues in circumference, with much forest, but apparently not very high. At the east end there is a rock at a short distance from the coast.

There is another island called Dominica, with a circum-

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

[131] ference of some 15 leagues, bearing N.W. from San Pedro, distant 5 leagues. The island is beautiful to look upon, and runs N.E. to S.W. It has fine plains and mountains, is thickly inhabited, with many groves of trees.

To the south of Dominica there is another island to which the name of Santa Cristina was given. It seemed to be about 11 leagues in circumference, and is a little over a league from Dominica, with a clear and deep channel between them. The Adelantado named all four islands together "Las Marquesas de Mendoza," in memory of the Marquis of Cañete; because by this, and in making sail with his ships from any port, he wished to show how grateful he was for the assistance given by that Viceroy in the despatch of the expedition.

[648] While tacking off and on, and seeking a port in the island of Dominica, many canoes full of natives came out, who seemed to be of a browner colour, and crying out, showed the same good will as the others. In one canoe there came an old man, carrying a green branch and something white. At this moment the ship was put about, and, thinking that she was going away, the old man began to renew his shouts, make signs with his hair, and pointing downwards with his hair and fingers. The Adelantado wanted to return, but he could not do so because the wind freshened, and no sheltered port for anchoring could be seen: though the frigate, which stood close into the shore, reported having seen many more people than were visible [147] from the ship, and that a native had come on board, who with great ease had lifted a calf by one ear.

On the following day the General sent the Camp Master in the boat with twenty soldiers, to seek for a port or a watering place on the island of Santa Cristina. Many natives came out in canoes, and surrounded them. Our people, wishing to make themselves safe, killed some of them. One, to save himself, jumped into the sea with a

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

child in his arms. Clasped together, they were sent to the bottom by a shot from an arquebus that one of the soldiers fired off. He said afterwards, with great sorrow, that the Devil had to take those who were ordained to be taken. The Chief Pilot said to him that he regretted that he had not fired in the air, but the soldier said that he acted as he did lest he should lose his reputation as a good marksman. The Chief Pilot asked him what it would serve him to enter into hell with the fame of being a good shot? The Camp Master returned without having found either a port or a watering place.

At the same time four very daring natives had gone on board the ship, and while no one was looking, one of them took a small dog, which was the gift of the Camp Master. Then, with a shout they all jumped overboard with great courage, and swam to their canoes.

The next day, which was St. James's day, the General again sent the Camp Master, with twenty soldiers, to the island of Santa Cristina to find a watering place and a port. He effected a landing with the men in good order, and surrounded a village while the inhabitants stood looking on. The Camp Master called to them, and about three hundred came. Our people then drew a line, telling the natives by signs that they were not to go beyond it. On asking for water they brought some in cocoa nuts, and the women brought other kinds of fruit. The soldiers said that many of these women were very pretty, and that they were ready to come near in friendly intercourse, and to give their presents with their hands. The Camp Master sent the natives for water with the jars, but they made signs that our people should carry them; running off with four jars, for which reason we opened fire on them.

The General, having seen the port into which the Camp Master had gone, ordered the ship to be taken into it and anchored. But the wind died away under the land, and

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the ship was taken by a wave to within a lance's length of a rock, with 50 fathoms close to it. There was great consternation at the obvious danger. Sail was made, and God was served that a breeze should spring up, and the ship stood off. Then there came another report that the port was bad, full of sunken rocks, and that it was impossible to get out again if a ship had once entered. The Adelantado was much annoyed to hear the complaints of the hard work, and was moved to continue the voyage, saying that the water they had on board would be sufficient for the voyage to his islands. The Chief Pilot reminded him of the uncertainties of the sea, to which he answered: "If we cannot find a port, what are we to do?" The Chief Pilot replied that we must return to Magdalena, which we had already seen, and where the frigate had anchored, and that for a little more work it was needful to secure more necessaries. Meanwhile, the Camp Master had been coasting along the island; and very near the port that had been entered he found another, which he reported, and there the fleet anchored.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Adelantado landed on the island of Santa Cristina, and what took place with the natives.

On the day after the arrival, which was the 28th of July, the Adelantado went on shore, with his wife and the greater part of the crew, to hear the first mass said by the Vicar. The natives knelt down in silence and attention, imitating all they saw the Christians do. A very beautiful native sat near Doña Isabel, with such red hair that Doña Isabel wished to cut off a few locks; but seeing that the native did not like it she desisted, not wishing to make her angry.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The General, in the name of His Majesty, took possession of all the four islands, walked through the village, sowed maize in presence of the natives; and, having had such intercourse as was possible with them, he went on board. The Camp Master remained on shore with all the soldiers, who in a short time began to quarrel among themselves. Then the natives threw many stones and lances, wounding one soldier in the foot, without doing any other harm. They then fled to the mountains with their women and children, our people following them, until they were all in the woods. Being fired at, the natives reached the summits of three high hills, where they entrenched themselves. In the mornings and afternoons they all, with one accord, made a resounding noise, which echoed through the ravines, and was replied to by shouts. They wished to do us harm, hurling stones and lances, but their efforts were in vain.

The Camp Master placed guards in three positions to secure the village and the beach, where the women were resting and the sailors getting wood and water for the ships. What I have to say is, that some of these natives, being strong and courageous, used arrows, while there were not wanting others who seemed more cautious. They were very diligent to attack; but seeing how little harm they did, and how much hurt they received from the arquebuses, they tried to establish peace and friendship. For when the soldiers went to their work, they came out to them lovingly, offering them bunches of plantains and other fruits. It seemed that they felt the want of their houses, for they asked, by signs, when the Spaniards would go. Some came to the guards with food, which they gave to the soldiers. One native especially, of good presence, was taught to make the sign of the cross, and to say "Jesus Maria," and the rest. They were in conversation with their comrades, for each one had a comrade, whom they

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 sought out and sat with, when they came ; and by signs they asked each other the names of the sky, the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon and stars, and everything else within their vision. All were well content with what they said, calling each other friends and comrades. As this friendship was not without payment, there was a certain man who joyfully said to the General, that he had his dog well fed by the natives, by a forage he had made in the preceding night, when his company had the guard.

On another day eleven natives came in two canoes, and two of them stood up with some strings of cocoa nuts in their hands, and shouted while they showed them. Orders were given not to answer, and for the soldiers to be ready with their arquebuses. When the natives found that they were not answered, they came close to the ship, when a volley was fired. Two were killed. The soldiers shot three more, and throwing down what they had, the rest rowed away and fled. They were chased in a boat, but the natives got on shore and fled. Jumping on shore, only three were seen to run to the top of some high hills. Those in the boat took the canoes, with three dead bodies in them, for the rest had fallen into the sea. The cruelty of the Spaniards was such that there were not wanting those who said that the bullet wounds, so fierce and ugly, would frighten the other natives, and that the swords, making wide wounds, would have the same effect. In order that the natives might see, it was ordered that the bodies should be taken on shore, that the Camp Master might hang them up where they would be seen by the natives. It was said that this was done in order that the natives, if they came with false intent in their canoes, might know what the Spaniards could do. But it seemed to me that four armed ships had little to fear from unarmed natives in canoes. The Camp Master hung up the three natives in a place best adapted for the intended

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

object. A certain person came to see them, who gave one of the bodies a lance-thrust, and praised what had been done. At night the natives took the bodies away. 648

An evil example gives rise to licence, and reason conquers him who knows it. A certain person had an arquebus in his hut, and a friend of his loaded it, and pointed it to fire at the natives. The other took it out of his hands, and asked him what he was going to do with so much diligence. He replied, that his diligence was to kill, because he liked to kill. "It is not right," replied his friend, "that you should show such readiness to cause the death of men. What harm have these natives done to you that you should treat them with such cruelty? It is not valorous to show yourself a lion amongst lambs, nor to kill when it takes your fancy. If you do not know what a foul and sinful thing it is to murder a body which contains a soul, it is high time that you learned, and though it has weight it is not profitable."

The native who was friendly to the Chaplain came to the guard, and being seen by the General they embarked very joyfully, the native crying out, "Friend! Friend!" The Adelantado received him very cordially, offering him conserves and wine, but he would neither eat nor drink. He began to look at the sheep, and seemed to give them a name; he gazed at the ship and the rigging, counted the masts and sails, went below and noted everything with care, more so than is usual with a native. They told him to say "Jesus Maria," and to make the sign of the cross, which he did with great amusement, showed good will in all things, and presently he asked for persons to take him back to the shore. Such was the intelligence of this native that when he understood that the ships would depart, he showed regret, and wanted to go with us.

The Adelantado wanted to colonise these four islands, to make his business with them, and to leave thirty men,

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 some of them married. But the soldiers complained of this, and seeing their ill-will he gave up the idea.

It may be held as certain that two hundred natives were killed in these islands, for the impious and inconsiderate soldiers dropped one or two or three. Their evil deeds are not things to do, nor to praise, nor to allow, nor to maintain, nor to refrain from punishing if the occasion permits.

CHAPTER VII.

In which an account is given of the port, island, and inhabitants; of their customs, and other things.

133 THIS island of Santa Cristina is very populous, and lofty in the centre. It has its ravines and valleys, where the natives live. The port was named "Madre de Dios." Praise to her! It is in the western part, in latitude 9° 30′, sheltered from all winds, only excepting the west, which never was found to blow. Its shape is that of a horse-shoe, with a narrow mouth, and at the entrance it has a clear bottom of sand, with a depth of 30 fathoms, in the middle 24, and 12 near the beach. The marks by which it is known are a hill to the south, rising from the sea, having a peak terminating in three others on its summit; to the north a concave rock; within the port five wooded ravines, all coming down to the sea, and a hill which divides the little beaches of sand, having a stream of excellent water falling from a height of a man's stature and a half, the thickness of a fist, where the barrels can be filled. Near it there is a stream of equally good water, flowing near a village which the natives have there. So that waterfall, [361] stream, and village are all on the shore, which is on the north side of the hill. On the south side of it there are houses scattered among the trees, To the east there are

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the tree are large, and much serrated, like those of the papay.[1]

They found many caves full of a kind of sour dough, which the Chief Pilot tasted. There is another fruit covered on the outside with prickles like a chestnut, but each as big as six of Castille, with nearly the same taste. Its shape is like a heart, flattened. They eat many, roast and boiled, and leave them on the trees to ripen.

There are nuts the size of those of Castille, and appear to be almost the same in taste. The outside is very hard and without joint, and its kernel is not attached to the rind, so that it comes out easily and entire when opened. It is an oily fruit. They ate and took away many of them.

They saw calabashes of Castille sown on the beach, and some red flowers pleasant to look on, but without smell. As our people did not go inland, and all the natives retreated into the woods, as has been said, this is all that can be related. The soldiers said that all the trees appeared to bear fruit.

Our men were very well received by the natives, but it was not understood why they gave us a welcome, or what was their intention. For we did not understand them; and to this may be attributed the evil things that happened, which might have been avoided if there had been some one to make us understand each other.

[1] The earliest description of the bread fruit.

[pp. 30-148 not processed.]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

SECOND VOYAGE

OF THE

ADELANTADO ALVARO DE MENDAÑA,

BY

HIS CHIEF PILOT, PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS.

600

ON Friday, the 9th of April, of the year 1595, the Commander-in-Chief, Alvaro de Mendaña, set sail with his fleet to go and subject and people the western islands of the South Sea, from the port of the Callao of Lima, which is in 12½° S. latitude; passing by the valleys of Santa, Truxillo and Saña, and collecting men and provisions, he went to Paita, where he took in water, and made a list of four hundred persons, more or less, with his four vessels, two large and two small. He left this port (which is 5° higher than the said port), steering W.S.W., making for the islands of his discovery: he took as Master of the Camp Pedro Merino Manrique, and as Admiral his brother-in-law, Lope de la Vega, and as Chief Pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros; and he sailed on this course to the altitude of 9½°, from which point he sailed W. and to the point S.W. to 14°, where he changed his course to W. and the point N.W.; and having reached, by this course, fully 10° of latitude, on Friday, 21st of July,

648
142

[p. 149]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands, and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arquebuses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards the S., to say that in that direction there were men like him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153-end not processed.]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

CHAPTER XIII.

Madison's Island.—Happah War.

At day-light next morning I bore up for the island of Nooaheevah, which I shall hereafter call Madison's Island, and which bore from us W: not more than ten leagues distant. At the dawn of day I made the signal to bear up for the anchorage of Madison's Island, and stood in for the point forming the east side of the weather bay, called by Lieutenant Hergest, (who appears to be the first navigator that discovered it) Comptroller's Bay.

Shortly after anchoring, we discovered a boat coming from shore with three white men in her, one of whom was perfectly naked, with the exception of a cloth about his loins; and as his body was all over tattooed, I could not doubt his having been a long time on this, or some other island. I supposed them to be seamen, who had deserted from some vessels here, and under this impression would neither permit them to come along side of the ship, nor allow any person to have any conversation with them. I was provoked to find such characters, as I suspected them to be, in a place where I had least expected to find any but the natives. I apprehended much trouble from them; and, in a moment of vexation, refused to answer their inquiries, and directed them to leave the ship. Several canoes had come out towards us; but on the whites joining them, they all paddled to the shore; and on their reaching the beach, considerable numbers of the natives assembled around them, armed with spears and clubs, and I felt somewhat apprehensive that I had committed an error, in not treating the strangers with more urbanity. To correct my error as soon as possible, I directed four boats to be manned and armed, and with a party of marines proceeded for the shore. The beach was abandoned at our approach; but on landing, I was met by one of the persons who had come off in the boat. To my great astonishment, I discovered him to be a midshipman of the United States' navy, named John M. Maury, who had left the United States on furlough, with Lieutenant Lewis, for Canton, in the ship, Pennsylvania Packet; from which place he sailed for this island, to procure sandal wood. Here he remained several months; and after completing his cargo, sailed for Canton, leaving Mr. Maury with a party, and the remainder of his stock of trade, to collect a cargo for him against his return. He had been expected in about two months; but the news of the war, of which

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him; and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked, was named Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite with me, as well as every other person. He proved indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other. I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one. Such were my impressions of Wilson at the time; but I have since had occasion to be satisfied that he was a consummate hypocrite and villain.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease. The women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, destroyed many houses and plantations, and killed a great number of bread-fruit trees by girdling. I was also informed that they had intended paying another visit that day; but it was supposed they were deterred by the appearance of the ships. I directed one of them to proceed to the Happahs, and to tell them that I had come with a force

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in greast estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was informed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured.

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood.

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value.

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him,

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648

valley among the bread-fruit trees, which they soon began to destroy. I immediately fired guns, and made a signal for every person to repair on board, apprehensive that some might be cut off by them, as the friendly natives had not seemed to notice this descent. The firing of the guns soon occasioned the main body to halt, and shortly afterwards the whole returned up the mountains, as the friendly tribes had turned out to oppose them. Assured from what I had already seen, that they were capable of attempting the execution of their threat, I determined to be prepared for them, and with this view, caused one-fourth of each ship's company to be landed every evening with their arms, as a guard for the camp, allowing them at the same time to stroll about the valley, and amuse themselves.

The threat of the Happahs had early induced me to reflect on the course it would become me to pursue, in order, as far as possible, to avoid hostilities with them, so long as a proper regard to the objects of my stay, and the safety of my people would permit. I therefore determined to let them see the effects of our cannon, with a view to frighten them from committing further hostilities. Gattanewa made daily applications for assistance, and I at length told him, that, if his people would carry a heavy gun, a six-pounder, up to the top of a high mountain, which I pointed out to them, I would send up men to work it, and drive away the Happahs, who still kept possession of the hills. This was unanimously agreed to by every man belonging to the valley. I landed the gun, but did not suppose them capable of carrying it half way to the place fixed on

On their first attempt to lift it with a few men, the weight seemed to astonish them; they declared that it stuck to the ground: they soon however raised it by additional numbers, and bore it off with apparent ease.

As an additional security to our camp, I landed another six-pounder, and mounted also a long wall-piece. The ship was soon stripped of her rigging; her provisions, stores, and ammunition, put on board the prizes. The carpenters were employed in caulking her seams, the coopers in setting up new water-casks, (of which our prizes afforded us an abundant supply) in place of the old, which were nearly all found rotten. Our men were occupied in overhauling and refitting the rigging, and the duty of every one allotted to him. No work was exacted from any person after four o'clock in the afternoon; the rest of the day was given to repose and amusement.

The Happahs were determined to try the effects of a battle, and if they should be beaten they would then be willing to make peace; but not before. I informed them that they would not find me so ready to make peace after beating them, as at present; and

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - - -	19,200

Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding these missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity.

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at day-light, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to Lieutenant Downes.

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the Essex Junior and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provisions and other articles, I gave the order to march.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648
726

About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place untill they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly natives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not untill our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of

648
737

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them.

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance, with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased.

We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we were satisfied that it was not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it*

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent*: it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane*. *Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

727 [266] [782]

648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected.

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men.

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them.

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

ahuwahee. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist. 291

Agreeably to the request of the chiefs, I laid down the plan of the village about to be built. The line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks. They were to take the form of a crescent, to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height. The houses were to be fifty feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height. 648

On the 3d November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes, assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling-house for myself, and another for the officers, a sail loft, a cooper's shop, and a place for our sick, a bake-house, a guard-house, and a shed for the sentinel to walk under. The whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing could exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise. They performed their labour with expedition and neatness. Every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition, and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed, I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops. All were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

●648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 461 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of government that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

554 622 [427] 431 554 622 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made, he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

and thrown overboard, and it was supposed that, exclusive of the young, which were killed in the nests, and could not be found, we had not destroyed a less number than from twelve to fifteen hundred. The caulking and other repairs of the ship went on with much expedition and regularity, and among other defects we found our main-topmast in a very decayed state. We were however enabled to replace it with a spare one on board, and every thing promised that we should not meet with many embarrassments or delays. As soon, however, as our painting commenced, we felt the want of oil. We caught two remarkably large sharks, and endeavoured to substitute the oil extracted from their livers, but found it would not answer. We next tried black-fish oil, but it did not succeed. Fortunately, having a small quantity of the oil of the black whale on board our prizes, we found it answered nearly as well to paint as that which is extracted from flax-seed, and generally known by the name of linseed oil. With this we were enabled to improve the external appearance of the ship, but had not a sufficient quantity to paint her inside. We afterwards, however, found that this island affords an excellent substitute for linseed oil, in the oily walnuts, formerly mentioned as being used by the natives in ripening bananas, and for candles. The oil, of which they afford a large quantity, is easily expressed, and is no respect inferior to the best paint oil. As such, it is used not only by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, where it abounds, for painting their clothes, but by vessels touching there, which need a supply of that article.

648 Temaa Tipee, of the valley of Shoueme, had not been so punctual as the other tribes in sending his supplies, and his example had in some measure occasioned a falling off on the part of the others. I therefore found it necessary to let him know that I had noticed his neglect, and consequently sent a messenger to him to enquire whether he was disposed to remain on friendly terms with me, as he might take his choice, either peace or war. On the return of the messenger, he informed me, that Temaa Tipee desired nothing more ardently than peace, and that he should have been more punctual in the performance of his engagements, had not the Happahs refused to permit him and his tribe a passage through their valley. I suspected this to be false: I knew that the Happahs dare not act so contrary to my wishes. He, however, promised to bring his supplies by water in future punctually, and in the course of the day after the return of the messenger, landed at the beach in front of the village with six large canoes laden with hogs and fruit. His complaint of the Happahs had induced me to send a messenger immediately to that tribe, with a threat of punishment, in case of future difficulties between them and the tribes with whom I was at peace.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

They denied positively having refused him a passage, and 648
strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

Some time after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united forces into the sea; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and dispatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Taeehs to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as possible.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those al- 501
ready described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooa- 422
hooga, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more spendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

lar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

LETTER XV.

Madison's Island.—Typee War.

The Taeehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taeehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taeehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determineed to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

●648 bear their insults, and escape their stones in the best manner they could; not however without complaining occasionally to me on the subject. But they seemed determined to take no active part with us in the war.

Finding that it was absolutely necessary to bring the Typees to terms, or endanger our good understanding with the other tribes, and consequently our own safety, I resolved to endeavour to bring about a negotiation, and to back it with a force sufficient to intimidate them.

We arrived at the Typee landing at sunrise, and were joined by ten war canoes from the Happahs; the Essex Junior soon after arrived and anchored. The tops of all the neighbouring mountains were covered with the Taeeh and Happah warriors, armed with spears, clubs, and slings; the beach was lined with the warriors who came with the canoes, and who joined us from the hills. Our force did not amount to a less number than five thousand men, but not a Typee or any of their dwellings were to be seen; for the whole length of the beach, extending upwards of a quarter of a mile, was a clear level plain, which extended back about one hundred yards. A high and almost impenetrable swampy thicket bordered on this plain, and the only trace we could perceive, which, we were informed, led to the habitations, was a narrow pathway which winded through the swamp. The canoes were all hauled on the beach, the Taeehs on the right, the Happahs on the left, and our four boats in the centre.

We soon came to the place for fording a river; in the thick bushes of the opposite banks of which, the Typees, who were here very numerous, made a bold stand, and showered on us their spears and other missiles. Here our advance was for a few minutes checked, the banks of the river being remarkably steep, but particularly on the side we were, which would render our retreat difficult and dangerous in case of a repulse. The stream was rapid, the water deep, and the fording difficult and hazardous on account of the exposed situation we should be in while crossing. We endeavoured in vain to clear the bushes of the opposite banks with our musketry. The stones and spears flew with augmented numbers. Finding that we could not dislodge them, I directed a volley to be fired, three cheers to be given, and to dash across the river. We soon gained the opposite bank, and continued our march, rendered still more difficult by the underwood, which was here interlaced to that degree, as to make it necessary sometimes to crawl on our hands and knees to get along. We were harassed as usual by the Typees for about a quarter of a mile through a thicket which, at almost any other time, I should have considered impenetrable. On emerging from

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the swamp, we felt new life and spirits; but this joy was of short duration, for on casting up our eyes, we perceived a strong and extensive wall of seven feet in height, raised on an eminence crossing our road, and flanked on each side by an impenetrable thicket. In an instant afterwards we were assailed by such a shower of stones, accompanied by the most horrid yells, as left no doubt in our minds that we had here to encounter their principal strength, and that we should here meet with much resistance in passing this barrier. It fortunately happened, that a tree which afforded me shelter from their stones, enabled me, accompanied by Lieutenant Gamble, and Doctor Hoffman, a very valuable officer, to annoy them as they would raise above the wall to throw at us. These were the only muskets which could be employed to any advantage. Others kept up a scattering fire without effect. Finding we could not dislodge them, I gave orders for pushing on and endeavouring to take it by storm. But some of my men had by this time expended all their cartridges, and there were few who had more than three or four remaining. This discouraging news threw a damp on the spirits of the whole party. Without ammunition our muskets were rendered inferior to the weapons of the Typees, and if we could not advance, there could be no doubt we should be under the necessity of fighting our way back; and to attempt this with our few remaining cartridges, would be hazarding too much. My number was now reduced to nineteen men; there was no officer but myself; the Indians had all deserted me except Mouina; and to add to our critical and dangerous situation, three of the men remaining with me were knocked down with stones. We retreated for a few paces, and in an instant the Indians rushed on us with hideous yells. The first and second which advanced were killed at the distance of a few paces, and those who attempted to carry them off were wounded. This checked them, they abandoned their dead, and precipitately retreated to their fort.

Not a moment was now to be lost in gaining the opposite side of the river. Taking advantage of the terror they were thrown into, we marched off with our wounded. Scarcely had we crossed the river before we were attacked with stones. But here they halted, and we returned to the beach much fatigued and harassed with marching and fighting, and with no contemptible opinion of the enemy we had encountered, or the difficulties we should have to surmount in conquering them.

The behaviour of the friendly natives, and particularly the Happahs, after this supposed defeat of my party, convinced me I had now no alternative, but to prove our superiority by a successful attack upon the Typees. It was obvious that the whole of the tribes would join the conquering side, as is always the case with savages,

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 and I became fully convinced that the safety of my people, as well as the interests of my government, would be compromised by any delay in the renewal of hostilities. Accordingly, the next day I determined to proceed with a force which I believed they could not resist, and selected two hundred men from the Essex, the Essex Junior (which had now arrived,) and from the prizes. I directed boats to be prepared to start with them before daylight next morning, and cautioned every one to be secret as to my intentions, not wishing to be annoyed by the noise and confusion of either of the tribes of Indians, whom we had always found useless to us. In the evening, the boats being leaky and unable to carry the men, I caused the party to be sent on shore, and determined to go by land. We had a fine moonlight night, and I hoped to be down in the Typee valley long before daylight. We had guides which we believed could be depended upon for their knowledge of the road, and supposing we should be unaccompanied by many Indians, calculated by our silence to take them by surprise, and make several prisoners, the possession of which would probably bring them to terms and save the necessity of bloodshed, which I wished to avoid if possible. The Essex's crew composed the main body, the rest being divided into scouting parties, headed by their respective officers. Added to this, I was desirous of impressing them with a high idea of our force, and by this means, terrify them into terms without farther effusion of blood. I accordingly directed my men to assemble on the ridge and to fire a volley; the Typees had not until then seen us, nor had they the least suspicion of our being there. As soon as they heard the report of our muskets, and discovered our numbers, which, with the multitude of Indians of both tribes who had now assembled, was very numerous, they shouted, beat their drums, and blew their war conchs from one end of the valley to the other. And what with the squealing of the hogs, which they now began to catch, the screaming of the women and children, and the yelling of the men, the din was horrible.

After firing our volley which went off better than I expected, we descended, with great difficulty, into the village of the Happahs, and were shown into the public square. Around this place were several vacant houses, which had in all appearance been vacated on our account. In these I quartered my officers and men, assigning to each ship's crew their abode, after which I took possession of the one I had chosen for myself, in front of which the American ensign was hoisted.

When night approached, proper look-outs were placed, and fires made before each house. Those of the tribe of Tayeehs remained with us, the Happahs retired. All not on guard devoted themselves to sleep, and at daylight, next morning, we

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

equally divided our ammunition and the line of march was formed. All had put their arms in a good state for service, and all were fresh and vigorous; each being supplied with a small quantity of provisions for the day. 648

On ascending the ridge, where we had passed such a disagreeable night, we halted to take breath, and view, for a few minutes, this delightful valley, which was soon to become a scene of desolation. From the hill we had a distant view of every part, and all appeared equally delightful. The valley was about nine miles in length, and three or four in breadth, surrounded on every part, except the beach, where we formerly landed, by lofty mountains. The upper part was bounded by a precipice of many hundred feet in height, from the top of which a handsome sheet of water was precipitated, and formed a beautiful river, which ran meandering through the valley, and discharged itself at the beach. Villages were scattered here and there, the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and every thing bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness. Never in my life did I witness a more delightful scene, or experience more repugnancy than I now felt, for the necessity which compelled me to make war against this happy and heroic people.

A large assemblage of Typee warriors were posted on the opposite banks of the river (which glided near the foot of the mountain) and dared us to descend. In their rear was a fortified village, secured by strong stone walls; drums were beating and war conchs were sounding in several parts, and we soon found they were disposed to make every effort to oppose us. I gave orders to descend; Mouina offered himself as our guide, and I directed him to lead us to their principal village. But finding the fatigue of going down the mountain greater than I expected, I gave orders to halt before crossing the river, to give time for the rear to close, which had become much scattered, and that all might rest. As soon as we reached the foot of the mountain we were annoyed by a shower of stones from the bushes, and from behind the stone walls; but as we were also enabled to shelter ourselves behind others, and being short of ammunition, I would not permit any person to fire.—After resting a few minutes, I directed the scouting parties to gain the opposite bank of the river, and followed with the main body. We were greatly annoyed with stones, and before all had crossed, the fortified village was taken without any loss on our side. Their chief warrior and another were killed, and several wounded. They retreated only to stone walls situated on higher grounds, where they continued to sling their stones and throw their spears. Three of my men

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

● 648 were wounded and many of the Typees killed before we dislodged them. Parties were sent out in different directions to scour the woods, and another fort was taken after some resistance; but the party, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retreat to the main body after keeping possession of it half an hour. We were waiting in the fort first taken for the return of our scouting parties—a multitude of Tayees and Happahs were with us, and many were on the outskirts of the village seeking for plunder. Lieutenant M' Knight had driven a party from a strong wall on the high ground, and had possession of it, when a large body of Typees, which had been lying in ambush, rushed by his fire, and darted into the fort with their spears. The Tayees and Happahs all ran, the Typees approached within pistol shot, but on the first fire retreated precipitately, crossing the fire of Mr. M'Knight's party, and although none fell, we had reason to believe that many were wounded. The spears and stones were flying from the bushes in every direction, and although we killed and wounded in this place great numbers of them, we were satisfied, from the opposition made, that we should have to fight our whole way through the valley.

We continued our march up the valley, and met in our way several beautiful villages, which were set on fire, and at length arrived at their capital, for it deserves the name of one. We had been compelled to fight every inch of ground, as we advanced, and here they made considerable opposition; the place was, however, oon carried, and I very reluctantly set fire to it. The beauty and regularity of this place was such, as to strike every spectator with astonishment, and their grand site, or public square, was far superior to any other we had met with. Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them; many of their drums, which they had been compelled to abandon, were thrown into the flames, and our Indians loaded themselves with plunder, after destroying bread-fruit and other trees, and all the young plants they could find.

648 712 We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprize, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering, and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

under the wall for one half its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity.

On my arrival at the beach, I met Tavee and many of his tribe, together with the chiefs of the Happahs. Tavee was the bearer of a white flag, and several of the same emblems of peace were flying on the different hills around his valley. He was desirous of knowing whether I intended going to their valley, and wished to be informed when he should again bring presents, and what articles he should bring. He inquired if I would still be his friend, and reminded me that I was Temaa Typee, the chief of the valley of Shoueme, and that his name was Tavee. I gave him assurances of my friendship, requested him to return and allay the fears of the women, who, he informed me, were in the utmost terror, apprehensive of an attack from me. The chiefs of the Happahs invited me to return to their valley, assuring me that an abundance of every thing was already provided for us.

When I had reached the summit of the mountain, I stopped to contemplate that valley which, in the morning, we had viewed in all its beauty, the scene of abundance and happiness. A long line of smoking ruins now marked our traces from one end to the other; the opposite hills were covered with the unhappy fugitives, and the whole presented a scene of desolation and horror. Unhappy and heroic people, the victims of your own courage and mistaken pride. While the instruments of your own punishment shed the tears of pity over your misfortunes, thousands of your countrymen (nay, brethren of the same family) triumphed in your distresses!

The day of our return was devoted to rest; a messenger was, however, dispatched to the Typees, informing them I was still willing to make peace, and that I should not allow them to return to their valley until they had come to terms of friendship with us. The messenger, on his return, informed me, that the Typees, on his arrival, were in the utmost consternation; but that my message had diffused the most lively joy among them. There was nothing they desired more than peace, and they would be willing to purchase my friendship on any terms. He informed me that a flag of truce would be sent in next day to know my conditions.

On the arrival of the Typee flag, which was borne by a chief, accompanied by a priest, I informed them that I still insisted on a compliance with the conditions formerly offered them, to wit, an exchange of presents, and peace with myself and the tribes who had allied themselves to me. They readily consented to these

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

●648 terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

Madison's Island—Religious Ceremonies, Customs, &c.

177 648 241 HAVING now nothing to occupy me but the refitting my ship, which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zealander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seed, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats; and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live.

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England.

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oatata and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night,) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah.

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

●648 The prizes, Seringapatam, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Greenwich, were safely moored under the fort, and placed under charge of Lieutenant Gamble, of the marines, who, with Midshipman Feltus and twenty-one men, volunteered to remain with them until my return, or until they could receive further orders from me. In my orders to Lieutenant Gamble, I exhorted him to pay every regard to the most friendly intercourse with the natives, and to endeavour to introduce among them the cultivation of seeds of different kinds, which I left with him. My views in leaving him with these vessels were to secure the means of repairing my ships in case of an action on the coast. And to avoid his being unnecessarily detained here, I gave him orders to leave the island in five and a half months from the time of my departure, if he should not hear of me before the expiration of that period.

Shortly after leaving the port, a circumstance took place which caused me much sorrow. The Otaheitan I had on board had received a blow from the boatswain's mate, the first probably which he had ever received, as his gentle disposition, his activity, and desire to give satisfaction, had endeared him to every person in the ship. Tamaha was ever lively and cheerful, constantly at work during working hours, and after the work was over, his chief employment was in amusing the crew by dancing after the manner of his own country, or in imitating the dancers, and the exercise of ours; he was with all a favourite. Tamaha could not bear the shame of a blow; he shed a torrent of tears, and declared that no one should strike him again. We were about twenty miles from the land, night was coming on, and it was blowing fresh with a considerable sea. Tamaha jumped overboad undiscovered, and was seen no more. Whether he took with him an oar, or small spar, to buoy himself up; whether he hoped to reach the shore; or whether he determined to put an end to his existence, I cannot pretend to say; the distance, however, was so great, and the sea so rough, that I cannot entertain a hope of his surviving. His loss was greatly lamented by us all, and his melancholy fate caused a general dejection.*

[pp. 119 to end not processed.]

* He, however, reached the Island, after swimming and floating two nights and a day.

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. stance, I thought it not unlikely, that some navigators, passing this way before us, had treated them in an unfriendly manner, and made them afraid of showing themselves to vessels arriving off their shores; and, as the wind in the afternoon was in a quarter that would enable me to reach the north part of Noocahiva, about six o'clock, with disappointed feelings, I tacked for that purpose.

The night proved squally, and we were once in the course of it in danger of being driven on the shore of Noocahiva, but a sudden gust from the land fortunately saved us. In the morning, a canoe with eight persons made for the ship, from the east side of this island; and, when at a short distance from us, one of the company sounded a large conch, while another waved a piece of white cloth. Thinking these to be tokens of friendship, I ordered, in return, a white handkerchief to be waved, and a white flag hoisted. My guests climbed the ship's sides, with the assistance of a rope that was thrown to them from deck, and behaved in as free and amicable a manner as if they had lived amongst us all their lives. Our curiosity did not in the least interrupt their singing, dancing, and other wild testimonies of joy, on receiving the different presents we made them, and especially the knives, which they called *coke*. Observing that four more canoes were hurrying from the shore, I ordered our present visitors to leave us; and in a moment they all jumped overboard, one after another. As soon as the new visitors arrived, those who left us made a most tumultuous noise; and, displaying our presents, vociferated, repeatedly, the word *cuanna*. In one of the new canoes, which was rowed by fifteen men, was the chief, who held a long stick, to which was

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

fastened a bunch of bananas, a piece of white cloth manufactured on the island, and a square fan. Being under sail, I did not like to be surrounded by too many of these savages, and I therefore signified that a few only were to come on board. The chief, as soon as he comprehended my orders, jumped out of his canoe into the water, and climbed up the ship with astonishing alacrity. As soon as he was on the quarter-deck, he sat himself down, and presented me with the bunch of bananas, and the cloth that had been fastened to the stick. I was going to put on his head a cap of striped stuff; but he refused the honour, and begged a knife, which was given him with a pair of ear-rings, made of two copeks, which is the smallest Russian copper money. One of my officers made him a present of a small looking-glass, which delighted him so much, that I thought he would have lost his senses. Our new guests behaved with the same familiarity as the preceding ones. They were all perfectly honest in the exchange of articles, and so docile, that no one left the ship without asking my permission. [231] I showed them fowls and pigs; the fowls they called *moa*, and the pigs *boaga*, intimating by signs that there were plenty of both on shore; but, from their surprise at the sight of our sheep and goats, I inferred that they had never till then seen such animals. 1804. May.

We steered all the morning of the 9th to the southward, in the hope of reaching the bay of Tayohaia towards evening; but at noon we were becalmed, and gave up the idea of being at anchor before night. 9th.

During the night, the rain was so heavy, that a dozen casks

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. 10th. might have been filled in a very short time. At day-break we reached the south end of Noocahiva; but as the wind blew from the south-west, we tacked about. The bay, from which the canoes had come out the day before, is situated on the east side of the island, and is pretty large. The islanders did all they could to persuade us to stop in this quarter; but, as it was completely exposed to the easterly winds, I could not comply with their request. At eight in the morning the wind shifted to the north-east; and, as the weather cleared up a little, I made for the shore: and at nine, to our equal joy and surprise, a jolly-boat was seen coming to us from the Nadejda. Having been separated nearly seven weeks from our friends, the pleasure we felt, on hearing they were all in good health and spirits, can hardly be expressed.

At noon we entered the long-desired bay of Taiohaia; but, the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the ship to the anchoring place. While this was doing, I went on board the Nadejda to pay my respects to captain Krusenstern, with whom I found the king of the bay and a great number of islanders, who were entirely naked. His majesty differed in no respect from his subjects, except that his body was more punctured or tatooed. I had the good fortune to please the king at first sight; he called me *Too*, and promised to pay me a visit as soon as possible. There were also on board the Nadejda a Frenchman and an Englishman, who, having resided several years in these islands, were extremely useful to us, as will be seen hereafter.

Returning on board my ship, I found the king already

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signified to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

6: Lisianesky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. refused the rest, that such precious things could not be accepted, till he had something to give me in return. He immediately sent on shore his canoe, which soon returned with fifty cocoa-nuts, for which, in addition to what I had before given, I made a present to the uncle of an axe and three knives. While this was going on, another of his majesty's relations came on board, and exchanged a large pig, for a cock and hen. [648]

The king, during his stay, took such a liking to the large looking-glass in the cabin, that he could scarcely leave it for a moment; and as he stood before it, he made the most ridiculous distortions. For a green parrot which I had, he offered two large pigs; but I refused to part with it. However, to keep his majesty in good humour, I gave him a quantity of sugar, of which I knew he was extremely fond. Soon after breakfast, to my great surprise, our royal guest leaped overboard, without saying a word to any one, and swam on shore. This strange method of taking leave disconcerted me, and made me a little suspicious; but, being assured by our interpreter, Roberts, that it was agreeable to the custom of the country, my suspicions vanished. We observed, that of the immense number of people swimming round our vessel, not one paid the least attention to their king as he passed them, but continued what they were doing, uninterrupted by his presence. [622] His attendants remained on board some time after his departure, and begged to be shaved, having been told by one of their countrymen, that the operation was much easier and more pleasant with a razor, than with their shells. [302]

At one o'clock I put a *taboo*, or prohibition, upon further com-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

mercial intercourse for the present, by hoisting out a red flag, as it was our hour of dinner. The moment the islanders understood, from our interpreter (the Englishman of whom I have just spoken) what was meant, they retired to a short distance from the ship; but their noise was as tumultuous as ever. 1804. May.

As soon as dinner was over, the taboo was taken off, and the traffic began again. We had as yet no reason to complain of misconduct on the part of the islanders. Whenever any thing was purchased, it was hoisted on board, and a piece of iron hoop (our common payment), fastened to the end of the rope, was let down in return. Some of these traders were occasionally admitted into the ship; but on receiving payment, they in general instantly jumped overboard, seemingly the happiest beings in the world.

We moored the ship to-day; and, as the weather was warm, I called the islanders to our assistance. This produced great joy amongst them; and the capstern was manned in an instant. After the business was over, I made each a present of an iron nail; and they departed, as before, perfectly happy.

To my great satisfaction, Roberts was induced to stay on board and attend the ship during her continuance at these islands.

On the 12th we were again awaked in the morning by the noise of the swimmers; but their number was so small, in comparison with that of the day before, that only fifty cocoa-nuts, and a few other trifles were purchased. About noon the king 12th.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May paid us another visit, accompanied by his brother, and exchanged four cocks, which he brought with him, for one of ours, whose crowing had particularly pleased him. The brother also had taken a liking to one of our ducks, and offered a middling-size pig for her, promising at the same time another, not quite so large, for a drake. This exchange was not only advantageous, but very gratifying to me, as it might be the means of introducing into the island a useful domestic bird, unknown there before. During this visit, a circumstance took place of a serio-comic nature. One of my midshipmen, in examining the oar of a canoe that I had purchased, happened to let it fall, and it struck against the head of the king, who was sitting on the deck. His majesty immediately fell down, and began to make the most extraordinary wry faces, as if in great pain. The accident mortified me so much, that I reprimanded the young man a little severely for his carelessness. He was himself considerably alarmed; and, in apologizing, presented the king with a small piece of iron. This changed the scene; his majesty burst into a loud laugh, and expressed by signs, how cleverly he had deceived us, and that he was not in the least hurt. This scene over, the king went on shore in high spirits, and I was myself not a little pleased that the accident terminated as it did.

In the afternoon, captain Krusenstern came to see me, and in the course of conversation informed me, that the king had also brought him in the morning a pig; but as on his coming on board, the officers being at dinner, there was nobody to receive him on deck, he was so much displeased, that he ordered the pig to be taken back again. Though this circumstance appeared to us of

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a trifling nature, it had nearly been productive of serious consequences. One of the savages, returning on shore, reported that the king was in irons on board the Nadejda, for refusing to part with a pig. The bay was instantly in commotion; and our launch, which was then watering on shore, was surrounded by a host of savages, who threatened, if their chief was not immediately released, to put Roberts, who was attending the launch, to death. Though the poor fellow did all he could to convince them of the falsehood of the story, he certainly would have been cruelly treated, had not his majesty opportunely made his appearance, and assured the throng that he had received no insult or injury. This conduct of the islanders was a little grating to us; but we showed no resentment, considering them as uneducated children of Nature, who suffered their passions to run away with their judgment, and force to carry it over reason. 1804. May.

Notwithstanding these tumultuous symptoms, I ordered the launch to be dispatched again the next morning for water; and I proposed to captain Krusenstern our paying a visit to the king. At eight o'clock we set out, thirty in number, with Roberts for our guide. Our way at first was along the beach, and then through a grove of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. Having passed some poor cottages, we reached the house of the king's brother, where we stopped for a while to repose ourselves. The multitude that followed from curiosity, crowded upon us continually; but a word occasionally from Roberts, was sufficient to make them keep at a proper distance. As we proceeded, there were many springs of water on the way, and the path being narrow, we were wet and dirty before we reached the place of destination. Arriving at the king's abode, we made a proper 13th.

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building resembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad. 648 342

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and answered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room. [352]

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [353] [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the entrance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals. [343]

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts, 648

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. remains of a dead body, exposed on a simple board, supported by poles, under a roof of leaves. A considerable period must have elapsed since the body was placed there, as the skeleton only remained. The most pleasing sight in the burying-ground was a kind of monument lately erected to one of their deceased priests. It was constructed in a very handsome manner, was ornamented exteriorly with green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and had an altar within, of by no means a savage appearance.

Having satisfied our curiosity in this melancholy place, we returned to our ship by a road, on which stood many houses; but they all so nearly resembled the king's, though some were larger, that it is not necessary to describe them. The crowd that accompanied us during our stay on shore offered us various articles in the way of exchange, and behaved in so fair and friendly a manner, that I thought these islanders incapable of dishonesty. My ideas, however, were soon changed; for, on arriving at the boats, I found that one of our grapplings had been cut away under water, and carried off in so dextrous a manner, that neither the quarter-master nor the bargemen could conceive how it had disappeared. In this wily business they must have employed the knives we had distributed among them; showing us thereby that they well knew how preferable our instruments, made of iron, were to theirs, made of stone or shells.

Soon after my arrival on board, the king returned my visit, and brought with him a pig, and a stone axe, in exchange for two of my iron axes. As we were just going to dinner, I invited his majesty to partake of it. Of our several dishes he preferred that of pancakes with honey, which he relished so much, that

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force. 1804. May.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity. 14th.

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. Finding that there was no possibility of providing ourselves here with a greater quantity of live stock than we had already obtained, captain Krusenstern and I, with some officers of both ships, repaired to Jegawé Bay, which was about three miles and a half to the westward of our station. On our landing, we were surrounded by men and women, with fruit and other commodities for sale; and in a very short time sixty bunches of bananas were in our possession. After visiting the king, and breakfasting at his house, we proceeded in search of what was the main object of our excursion. We were, however, disappointed: the natives would sell us nothing but fruit and vegetables, though plenty of hogs and fowls were seen about their houses; and towards evening we returned to our ships.

The bay of Jegawé is a very safe place for anchoring; it forms a small bason, defended from all the winds, and ships may lie there quite close to the shore, especially on the south side, which renders it an admirable place for such as may be in want of thorough repair. The entrance is rather narrow; but as its depth does not exceed eighteen fathoms, and the bottom is good, you may warp in with ease, when you cannot sail in. To a small river of fresh water there, I gave the name of the Little Neva, the banks of which abound with inhabitants, who are able to supply vessels with a sufficiency both of fruit and hogs, though to us they would spare none of the last-mentioned article.

16th. From the difficulty of further augmenting our live stock, we began on the 16th to prepare for sea. I rewarded Roberts for his services, with linen, pieces of iron, and other articles that were

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine
142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European
164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

● 648 797 Although the Marquesans have been under French domination since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken
[124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them: they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137] [pp. 1-136 not processed]

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

least signs of anchorage. Some canoes put off from these places, and followed them down the coast. 133

At length, having come before the port they were in search of, they cast anchor. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish for small nails, retired on shore. 648

Very early next morning, the natives visited them again in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged. But in this traffic they would frequently keep their goods and make no return, till at last the Captain was obliged to fire a musket ball over one man who had several times served them in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. As the Captain was going in a boat, to look for a more convenient place to moor the ship in, he observed too many of the natives on board, and advised the officers to be on their guard. He had hardly got into the boat, before he was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions, and were making off with it. He ordered them to fire over the canoe, but not to kill any one; but the natives made too much noise for him to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot. 648 439

At this sad accident, all the natives retired with precipitation. The Captain followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails, and other things which he gave them. One would have thought that the natives by this time would have been so sensible of the effect of firearms, as not to have provoked them to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwise. For the boat had no sooner left the kedge anchor, than two men in the canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. The Captain ordered a musket to be fired at them. The ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy and made for the shore. This was the last shot they had occasion to fire at any of them while they lay at this place. 648

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance.

648 439 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

/29 cont./ 836
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls [145]
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was noteworthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional coloring attached to circumcision for the male, however. First intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197] [871]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648●
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic. The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage, especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602] [609]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177] [797]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe (rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply increased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tendencies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Intercourse usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscuous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further [648]
sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/45 cont./
girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any previously established unions and marriages. 836 648

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites. the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual potential of the girl. [832]

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the disruptive influence that such a person might wield on native social relations. 836 648 182

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group of the same culture and completely alien groups, which possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836 648 [833] ooo

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/62 cont./ The 586 197 797
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in [178] the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal culture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 648 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/83 cont./
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before. 162 175 648

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

178 864 175 648 864

/99 cont./ 175 698 864

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period appears to require some qualification, in view of the context in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14. 833 881 178 834 [183]

A great deal has been written about the existence of adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from 114 883 571

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571
skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 834 182
followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 178
some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 831 178
produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan-European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital information on the culture, which was subsequently used to hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

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In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this

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154 182 648 797 831

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context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most 182
troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the 648
top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act 797
out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules 831
laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be 154
seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried 182
on by the native population. Constant probing for weak- 797
nesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not success- 831
ful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail.

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been 182
relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the 831
French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which [797] has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the

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651 TAXATION AND PUBLIC INCOME--sources of public income (e.g., gifts and bribes, tribute, license fees, ground rents, profits from public enterprises, fines, confiscations, tolls, taxes); types of taxes (e.g., taxes in kind, labor levies, poll taxes, property taxes, stamp taxes, excise taxes, customs duties, income taxes, inheritance taxes); importance of and revenue from each type; differentiation by administrative level; principles of taxation; tax law; mode of fixing and collecting taxes; specialized personnel (e.g., tax collectors, tax consultants); tax exemptions; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance 48
Gift giving 431
Government lotteries 535
Government monopolies 666
Income 434
Foreign trade 439
Forced labor 466
Fines 681

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 1804 May. [649] Nooahiwa, like all the other islands of this group, is governed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other. Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consulting their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohaia and two other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohaia married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar alliances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective nations.

627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate.

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656 GOVERNMENT REGULATION--policies underlying government regulation of private enterprises and activities; general aspects of supervision, restriction, and enforcement; specific instances of government regulation not classifiable elsewhere; etc. See also:

Government regulation of hunting and fishing . . . 23
Government regulation of food processing 26
Government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of liquor and drugs 27
Government regulation of banking and finance . . 45
Government regulation of business and industry . . 47
Government regulation of travel and transportation 48
Government regulation of immigration 169
Conservation policies 185
Government regulation of radio 207
Government regulation of dairying 334
Rationing 434
Price controls 435
Government regulation of wages 465
Government regulation of marriage 503
Wartime regulations 722
Government regulation of medical personnel . . 739
Government regulation of weights and measures . 804

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]

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674 CRIME--prevalence and incidence of crime; common and rare offenses; crime statistics (e.g., number of reported violations, arrests, and convictions for various offenses); types of offenders (e.g., juvenile delinquents, criminal castes; narcotic addicts, professional criminals); motives in crime (e.g., greed, frustration, sexual jealousy); contributory social factors (e.g., poverty, oppression); criminology; etc. See also:

Socialization 98
Neuroses and psychoses 188
Organized vice 648
Ingroup antagonisms 670
Banditry and piracy 679
Crime prevention 685
Sanctions 681
Litigation of civil cases 691
Juvenile delinquency 736
Suicide 795

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

793 624 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 793 622 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils. Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 [628] [674] [784] For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by supernatural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with
which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276
employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272
into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is
mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished
cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them.
It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it
deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a
state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off
in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a
premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing
we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine
was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263]
and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called
kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272
several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 270
held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous
and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245
scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be
thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those
which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and
more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to
prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674
front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value
to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every
part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left ex-
posed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are
taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts
among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers,
armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to sup-
pose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to
the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly
invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or
to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as
numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours,
mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest
attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examin-
ing tools of every description, entering our tents and houses,
performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our
wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions,
being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still,
during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, ex-
cept some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls,
and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 837 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

291 The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh.

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe.

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most barefaced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened